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THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY IN AMERICA,

WITH AN INQUIRY INTO THE DUTIES OF CHRISTIAN AND PATRIOTIC
CITIZENS IN THE PRESENT CRISIS.

BY ALFRED W. EASTMAN,

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FELLOW-CITIZENS:

The time has been, if it is not now, when the professed friends of Democratic liberty in America approved of the struggle through which our Revolutionary ancestors passed, while endeavoring to found a free republic, based on the inalienable rights of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, under the restraint of wholesome laws and a just government, instituted by the people with the sanction of the Almighty, and deriving its just authority from the consent of the majority of the people to its real justice and divine sanction, so far as that people, or nation, thus adopting any system of laws is concerned.

These men, the professed friends of American liberty, have taught us, that, although it cost a seven years' war, involving the loss of many valuable lives, much suffering by the innocent and the guilty, as well as the bankrupting of the national credit and currency, and untold horrors, carnage, desolations and miseries in the necessary progress of that struggle for freedom and independence, that the great Defender of liberty prospered and approved the cause of America; and that Washington, of all others, though a warrior with a carnal sword, was the man whom God raised up to fight our country's battles, and gain her independence, as a place where liberty might dwell, and where the flag of our Union in triumph

—“might wave,
O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave.”

And I, for one, acknowledge, with gratitude to God, that such is the fact. God himself did shield and defend the brave old heroes by whose valor on many a bloody battle-field, and by whose patient endurance through many a heart crushing sorrow, in spite of ten thousand depressing and despairing reverses and defeats, our national liberties were won.

But what is the *principle* upon which the great God approved a cause which produced so much bloodshed, strife, and misery?

It is the true conservative principle of the universe—that upon which the Almighty, as a just and merciful Father and God, always acts in overruling the affairs of all worlds—that of securing the greatest possible good of the greatest possible number of his creatures.

Thus stood the case with the nation at the time our fathers drew their Revolutionary blades: an evil greater than war threatened their rights as men and as British subjects—an evil which threatened the representative rights and liberties of all mankind, which are similar and common, and cannot be stricken down in one place, or in one per-

son, even, without endangering the rights of all others. In view of this encroaching tyranny of the British throne, Patrick Henry but breathed the common though dormant sentiment when he exclaimed in those thrilling and immortal words—"I know not what course others may take, but as for me, GIVE ME LIBERTY, OR GIVE ME DEATH." Desiring to throw off the galling yoke of tyranny that was imposed upon them, and establish in America an asylum and city of refuge for the oppressed of all lands, who might flee to her for protection, these noble men struck vigorous blows for civil and religious freedom, pledging to each other, for success in the struggle, their "lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor." God sustained them in the struggle, chastising them in measure for their wickedness, (as he is now chastising their sons,) but giving them final victory, that they might escape the wrongs of tyranny, and that the cause of the world's liberties, of human rights in general, might be advanced and finally secured, and the present and eternal welfare of mankind be promoted thereby.

I have a question to ask here, of every man, woman, and child in this audience: it is this—do you all believe that our Revolutionary fathers did right to fight against the king of England, and was the Almighty justified in giving final success to their cause?

I wish every one to vote on this question—one way or the other—but be careful how you vote!

To those who say that they do not believe this, I have simply to say that as they have sided with the Tories of the Revolution, and with British tyranny as opposed to republican government and liberty, they have no right to interfere with our republican institutions here, but the most appropriate thing they can do is to emigrate to England, Austria, or some other congenial monarchy, where they can aid the cause of despotism in its efforts to crush the rights of man. Perhaps they will find a stronger opponent of liberty, however, in Jefferson I, than in any other tyrant. If so, they belong with him, or under him.

But I have a few words now for those who justify the Revolutionary struggle, but condemn our own; who garnish the sepulchres of the fathers, while they charge the crime of murder upon their sons who are fighting to preserve the government from the ruinous grasp of domestic traitors.

You have admitted that it was a noble, a manly, and a righteous work for our fathers to fight for their liberties, and for the rights of all men, rather than tamely submit to be made slaves; and since it was just that they and all mankind should be free, you have admitted that it was just and right for God and all good men and ministers to encourage our fathers to fight bravely, and to the bitter end, trusting in God for victory. And while the British began the war, and carried it on for the purpose of encroaching upon the liberties of the American people, you have charged the blame on the British, where it belonged.

Now, then, if I can demonstrate to you, as I propose to do, that the present war, on the part of the United States, is waged for the preservation of the same government, and principles of government, and for the vindication of the same great rights of men, and broad principles of equal liberty among all races of men, that our fathers openly proclaimed to the world; and if I can also prove that the rebels and their friends are aiming to destroy both the government and the liberties bequeathed us by our fathers, you cannot by any possibility resist the

conclusion that as God and eternal principles are always the same, and our fathers' cause was right, and approved of God, so, therefore, as our cause is the same in fact and in principle with that of our fathers, our cause must also be right and approved of God, while the guilt of the bloodshed and misery must rest mainly on the heads of the rebel opponents of liberty, and their friends. If, to avoid this conclusion, you change your position, and deny the justice of the first war for liberty in America, you must charge Washington with murder and the Almighty with injustice; and by so doing side with tories, traitors, and the devil. If you are bold enough, or bad enough, to publicly avow this to be your position, you are either more honest or more wicked than I think you are.

There is but one way, then, for you logically to resist my conclusion, and that is by disproving my minor proposition, that the present war is waged for the preservation of the same government, principles, rights and liberties that our fathers fought to establish. Here, then, is the turning point in the grand argument by which the friends or enemies of the United States government stand or fall.

I propose, then, in the settlement of this question, to investigate, for a few moments, in detail, some of the chief principles for which our fathers contended, comparing them with those involved in our present struggle.

Some have said that our fathers fought for the rights and liberties of *white* men alone; and to establish a government under which *black* men should have no rights that white men are bound to respect. I repel this base insinuation with these three facts. 1. *They never said* any such thing as that, nor *anything* that would warrant any man to conclude that they did not intend America to be a country where even the Hottentot, in common with all other persons, of any other nation, might freely enjoy, under the restraints of just laws, the liberties with which Heaven has invested him and all mankind. 2. They did say things, which, being true, would imply that they would themselves be guilty of crime, against both God and men, if they should attempt to found a government where one race of men might be legally robbed of their rights by another; yes, things which justify any slave in cutting the master's throat who stands between that slave and his God-given rights.

What did they say? As they went into the fight they declared that "Liberty or Death" was with them the only alternative; be slaves they would not. So, too, they affirmed their adherence to this self-evident truth that "liberty" is a God-given right of all men, a *right* of which none can ever be deprived, since it is "inalienable," no matter by whom he may be restrained from the enjoyment of that right. At this doctrine of our fathers, that "all men are created equal, being endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," the rebels have directed their keenest darts. Alex. H. Stephens, Vice President of the so-called Southern Confederacy, has spoken of it as the "atheistic red republican doctrine of the Declaration of Independence," and charges it with being the cause of all the troubles that have sprung from meddling with slavery. By the way our modern abolitionists, as "causers of the war," are apparently in good company—a company evidently not inclined to favor slavery when they went into the fight. And

when they came out of it with victory on their banners, they took upon them the labor of organizing a government for the preservation of the liberties they had achieved, in the preamble to the constitution of which they declared it to be their object in establishing this government, to "establish justice," and "secure the blessings of liberty to (themselves) and (their) posterity." And in the amendments to the constitution they provided that "*no person*" (without distinction of color or race) should "be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law."

3. Many colored men were among those who fought in the Revolutionary war; and it is folly to suppose that they fought to achieve their own slavery, or the white man's liberty alone. Many colored people, also, formed a part of the "people of the United States" who "ordained the constitution" to secure "the blessings of liberty to (themselves) and (their) posterity."

Besides, should we admit that *white men alone* framed the constitution, or spoke through it, to secure their own liberties and those of "*their posterity*;" yet we must admit, that people of color are expressly included in the terms of the constitution as the heirs of all "the blessings of liberty"—for it is an undeniable fact, that thousands of this class in our country are really "the posterity" of the *white* men who ordained the constitution. If the children are illegitimate, this makes it bad for the moral character of the fathers, but does not militate against the constitutional and "inalienable" rights of the children.

As great stress is laid, by opposers of the war, upon an assumed difference between the present and the Revolutionary struggle—as if *that* were altogether a *white man's* and *this* a "*negro's war*"—it will do no harm, I think, to show that the "inevitable negro" and his rights were deeply involved in the first struggle, and that the Revolution was not a *white man's war* for *white men's liberties* merely. Those who are tired of the war because the doctrine of human rights is so broad and impartial that, like God, it has "no respect of persons," and will not exclude any man from the enjoyment of liberty on account of his color, would act more consistently with their professions, than, while *justifying* the Revolutionary struggle for the *rights of all men*, and at the same time condemning *our* struggle for the *rights of all men*, if they were either to grind off their own noses and condemn the Revolution, on the ground that they want nothing in common with the hated black; or, if they should leave their noses in proper position, and admit, as they should, that ours is also a noble struggle to preserve the right of all men to enjoy civil and religious freedom in our glorious republic.

In showing what the Revolutionary war was *not* waged for, I have necessarily shown something of what it *was* waged for. In showing that it was not fought to establish slavery, I have shown that our fathers vindicated the right of all mankind to equal and universal liberty—liberty to do right, to worship and obey God, to choose their own rulers and forms of government, and enjoy, under the protection of just laws, those inestimable rights of conscience, of free speech, freedom of suffrage, and of the press, as well as of personal freedom, to which the laws of God and of nature entitle them, without being subject to the whims or caprices of a despotic and irresponsible monarch. They did not, however, fight to achieve a license for any man, or body of men, to do wrong; to despise civil government; rob other men of their equal rights; nor yet to violate the laws of God or of the land, without punishment accordingly. The "liberty" to "rob other men of their equal liberty," is one for which our modern rebels, alone, have the distinguished (dis)honor of fighting. *Our fathers never recognized the existence of any such right, either in private individuals, nobles, kings, conventions, or in sovereign and republican States.*

Believing the proper "power" or authority of civil governments to "execute true judgment" or justice—that is, to uphold and execute just laws—to be "ordained of God," they were loth to attack even an unjust government with carnal weapons, until repeated acts of injustice and tyranny manifested a determination, on the part of the king of England, to reduce the people of the Colonies to government by his absolute and despotic will alone; when, taking as their maxim "Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God," they contested with the sword the assumed "divine right" of kings to do that which the Almighty had forbidden them to do.

They resisted the attempt of the British government to impose an involuntary tax on their tea, on the ground that taxation without representation, and without their consent, was unjust, and an act of war upon their rights as men and as British subjects. I may observe here, that "what is sauce for the goose is also sauce for the gander;" or, in other words, what was unjust to *white* men then is also unjust to *black* men now—although it looks as if we had "advanced backwards" a trifle, in this respect, by taxing our colored citizens, while we refuse to allow them the right of suffrage, or the least voice or representation in the government. And we shall not be thoroughly anti-slavery, or republican, in this matter, at least, until we come fully up to the grandeur of the Revolutionary principle, and grant representation to all whom we tax. This will not justify any pro-slavery man, however, in refusing to assist the government, because it is not quite as anti-slavery in some points as the fathers were. The late abolition of color distinctions between witnesses in the federal courts shows hopeful progress in the right direction. The government is getting right in the main, for it begins to see universal liberty in the constitution; and is making a *practical application*, as it long since should have done, of the principles of the declaration and of the constitution to the actual affairs of the nation; so that we may confidently hope that liberty, justice, and the inalienable rights of man, will not be treated as unmeaning abstractions, to mention which, in the presence of slavery, has for so long been criminal in the eyes of many.

Our fathers had sufficient experience of the despotism which might be practiced on the people, even in a limited monarchy, by a sovereign who disregarded the rights of his subjects and the provisions of the constitution, to lead them to prefer a republic, a government of the people, rather than a despotic one; and so they sought to found a government that should be so broad and general in its character, so mild, and yet so rigidly conservative of the equal rights of all classes of its citizens, so subject to the will of the constitutional majority, so completely filled with the inspiration of impartial justice, liberty and the essential principles of free government, and so capable of expansion, by constitutional amendments, to meet the new wants of the people, and to keep pace so exactly with the progress of the age, that it should never require to be revolutionized by the bayonet, but only by the ballot; and so might stand, through all ages of time, as a monument of wisdom, and beacon light of liberty to all nations of men.

Alas! that the madness of a few political idiots, who have grossly misapprehended the spirit and letter of our noble constitution, and vainly imagined that the spirit of free self-government authorized them to destroy the liberties of others, on the plea of governing themselves in their own way, should have succeeded so far as to cast their flaming firebrands of rebellion into the grand old temple of popular liberty in America, placing its very existence in jeopardy.

Let me call your attention for a few moments to the great question of self-government, as involved in the constitution and framework of our American republic. We have long boasted that our long-continued success, and general respect for, and obedience to, the laws of our own making, under the United States government, has been a living proof of the capacity of the common people, in enlightened nations, to govern themselves, on democratic principles, without the aid of despots born to inherit the throne.

It is vitally essential, however, to the existence of every democracy, or republic, that the minority should absolutely acquiesce in the decisions of the constitutional majority at the ballot-box. If, therefore, in any republic, the minority succeed in reversing the decisions of the majority, by force, in defiance of the constitution, they by so doing destroy the constitution, overthrow the republic and its government, establish military despotism in its stead, and the experiment of self-government in that republic is of course a failure. Now, then, since the rebels in our own government have appealed to force, to bayonets, in order to resist and overthrow the decision of the majority, constitutionally made at the ballot-box, they have struck a vital blow at republican government and liberty, in our own government and through the world; and if they succeed in gaining their object, by forcibly overriding the decisions of the majority—no matter whether they are right or wrong—the moment that they do thus succeed, that moment our constitution is overthrown, the government of the United States is destroyed, and our experiment at self-government, as a nation, becomes a failure, and is at an end.

To be sure, the loyal States may declare themselves free and independent republican States, or they may form a new national republic, and renew the experiment of self-government again, in another form; but the present federal government, that formed by the wisdom and cemented by the blood of our Revolutionary sires, will not, cannot, survive the success of this rebellion. And hence, too, it follows that the rebels cannot form any other but a despotic government, until they entirely repudiate their own rebellion, by re-establishing the authority and supremacy of the ballot-box over bayonets—since this is the vital principle and very foundation of all republics.

I perfectly agree with my democratic friends, that the present administration does not in all things represent absolute perfection—and that some things might probably have been done better than they have been, provided we had better men both at the head and at the foundation of public affairs—but the same might be said with equal truth of every other administration, from Washington to the present.

But, in view of the great principles of republican government involved in the *fact* of rebellion, I can say this, that if the administration of Abraham Lincoln succeeds in crushing out this diabolical and foolish rebellion against republican liberty in our nation, by freeing and arming every slave, and confiscating the property of every rebel, in order to preserve the right of the constitutional majority of the American people to regulate the affairs of their own government in their own way, it will, by so doing, save the rebellious States from a despotic government, and consummate a greater good for our entire nation, and for the general welfare and liberties of mankind, than it has ever been within the reach of human opportunity heretofore to accomplish.

Do you ask how this can be? I answer, because there has never been such a formidable blow aimed, by any human power, directly at the essential principles of human liberty and equality, as that now being struck by the so-called southern confederacy, which seeks to erect a "government" on American soil, based on a God-defying lie—the *false* claim of one class of human creatures to a divine right to hold property in other classes of their fellow-men.

And here let me say, that, as the southern confederacy, should it succeed, would be the first and only government in the world based on the "right to hold men in slavery," there is strong reason in this fact to justify the belief that it will never succeed—only in destroying itself. To argue that it is right, only, of all human governments, is to insult the wisdom of all past ages, asperse the character of the Supreme Ruler, and declare that "all the foundations of the earth are out of course;" or, that the principles of eternal justice have been universally and totally misapprehended, both by the masses of mankind and the wisest men of all ages.

I trust I have shown that the principles of free government—independent of the right or wrong of human slavery—are with the government of the United States, as framed by our fathers, and as it is still transmitted to their sons. The government we are now called upon to preserve from the violence of rebels, is the same government for the establishment of which our fathers fought, representing the same public liberties, and the same inalienable rights of man.

If it was, therefore, right and just for our fathers to fight to establish it, it must be equally right for their sons to fight to preserve it.

If it was their duty, as patriots and Christians, to pledge to each other "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor," for the achievement of American liberty, it is equally our duty to do the same for its sacred preservation, as the heritage of millions yet unborn, who will yet rise up and call that valor blessed, which, at the peril of all we hold dear in this life, endeavors to ward off the parricidal hand of treason which now seeks the nation's life.

God himself has authorized and instituted just civil governments among men, and has solemnly charged civil rulers with the duty of maintaining justice, by the laws and penalties of government, by which they themselves become "a terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that do well." "But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath (or punishment) upon him that doeth evil." Wherefore you must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake." This is the admonition of an inspired apostle, after having acknowledged the awful majesty of heaven-authorized law, and of civil government, as "ordained of God." In his proper sphere, as the minister of justice, as one authorized to uphold and execute those laws necessary to the public peace and welfare, the civil ruler so far represents the authority of the Ruler of the universe, by whose ordination civil government exists, that "whoso resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God," and, in consequence, "shall receive to himself damnation." If to resist the civil power, in the exercise of its proper functions, is to expose one's self to the penalty of "damnation" at the hand of God, for resisting him in his ordinance, it is evident that the path of duty must lie in the opposite direction, since it is no man's duty to pursue a course which God had assured him beforehand will result in damnation.

When any number of wicked and blood-thirsty men, then, unlawfully combine to obstruct the laws, overthrow the government, or commit crimes and outrages upon

the persons and rights of the people, what is the duty of Christian and patriotic citizens, when called upon by the civil authority to assist in arresting these criminals, and in maintaining the government and laws—and by this, the liberties and rights of the people, and the peace and good order of society? Suppose a dreadful murder had just been committed in the neighborhood, and the murderer were to rush into this house, flourishing a deadly weapon, and threatening the life of every person who should attempt to arrest him,—who of you all would refuse to assist the magistrate to arrest him, at the peril of your life? Who of you would say that peace, humanity, or the gospel, would require that the murderer be “let alone,” and that justice, the magistrate, law, and government, should abdicate, and basely yield to the will of murderers, rather than incur the personal danger necessary to uphold the laws, and secure the object for which laws are framed and governments exist—namely, the protection of the lives, liberties, happiness and possessions of the people.

Is any man so blind as not to see that *mercy to the people*, and the *prevention of general crime and bloodshed* among them, require that the majesty of the law be upheld, even if it became necessary, in order to do it, to shoot down the murderer upon the spot, together with any number of men who should combine with force and arms to prevent his arrest? And who of you all would think of charging the guilt of the blood thus shed upon any one except the murderer and his friends, whose resistance to the laws made it necessary to shed their blood in order to secure the ends of justice? The most tender-hearted Christian to be found among the “Peace Democracy,” or elsewhere, would consider himself justified before God and man, and as having performed an act of kindness to the community, to be able to say, “my hand gave the murderer his mortal wound, while he was about to take the life of the officer who was endeavoring to arrest him.”

In such case, the death penalty of the law is simply executed upon the criminal, without a formal trial, upon his open confession, by resisting the law, that he is an outlaw, an enemy to society, and a man of murderous intention, who, as such, certainly deserves to die.

So, too, were a highwayman to assault you, demanding your money or your life, you would each of you consider yourselves justified in taking his life, if necessary to preserve your own, and that on the double ground that “self-preservation is the first law of nature,” and that the highwayman stood before you self-convicted of a capital crime, by which his life was justly forfeited to the law.

But if the right of self-preservation in an *individual*, gives him a right to take the life of him who attempts to deprive him of his, and if the majesty of law in a small town or neighborhood requires that the lives of all who combine forcibly to defeat the ends of justice, shall be taken in order to maintain the public peace, if they will not cease their resistance, and sue for public mercy; how much stronger a right of self-preservation, by all the means that God has placed within its reach, has the government of a great nation, when its life is threatened, although ten thousand armed villains combine to obstruct the laws, insult and trample upon the majesty of law and of the sovereign people, and to overthrow their government and liberties!

And if it be the duty of Christian citizens, in a small town like ours, to assist the sheriff to quell a riot, or arrest a criminal, at the cost or peril of their own lives or those of the criminals and rioters, how much more, since the interests of society are so much more extensively involved in the affairs of a nation than in those of a town, how much more, I say, is it the duty of Christian citizens to assist the chief magistrate of their country in quelling a national riot or rebellion, and in preserving the integrity and majesty of the national government, liberty, constitution and laws.

What would you do with the man who should stand by in the case of the murderer, above suppose, and counsel the officers of the law to “keep the peace,” and “use no violence, lest they should bring the blood of the defiant murderer upon them”—meaning thereby that the murderer ought not to be arrested, unless he will voluntarily surrender himself, and that it would be wrong to take his life in order to subdue his murderous resistance? You would arrest him as a mover of sedition, or send him to the insane asylum, undoubtedly; and should he insist upon it that he was a victim of tyranny, and that the liberties of the country were destroyed, because he could not be allowed to disturb the public peace and stir up a riot by abusing the freedom of speech, you would only consider it a further proof of his insanity, and a justification of his “suppression” as a dangerous and seditious character.

And are the supporters of Vallandigham’s assumed right to make public speeches, in a time of war, which threatens the destruction of all the liberties of the people,—speeches that tend to encourage the enemies of the country to continue their rebellion until either themselves or the nation and its liberties are destroyed—any less insane than would be the other man, while they insist on the right of a private citizen to abuse his personal liberties to the extent of destroying the public liberties of the entire nation?

These questions are important, pertinent to the case, and should lead every true American, unbiased by partizan prejudices, calmly to review the whole subject, with the view to the solution of the question, "what is the duty I owe to the cause of liberty in America, and of the Union created to preserve and defend it?"

The base insinuation that the nation ought to have sold the liberties of unborn generations which are held in trust for them by the general government, and abdicated its own rights and those of the American people, by compromising the principles of eternal justice, the inalienable rights of man, and the essential principles of free government, by basely yielding to the unconstitutional demands of a treasonable and law-defying minority, at the point of the bayonet, rather than repel those bayonets by the federal power, smells so strongly of baseness, treachery, and brimstone, that it suggests the instance of a famous compromise, proposed to a noble king, by a base usurper, the reading of which, from ancient records, may both form and suggest a fitting reply to the entire scheme of "compromise"—which is but another name for selling our principles and rights to the devil, or his servants, in order to avoid the trouble of maintaining them against their opposition. *Matt. IV: 8, 10*—"Again the devil taketh him up into an exceeding high mountain, and sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them, and saith unto him, all these things will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me. Then saith Jesus unto him, get thee hence, Satan: for it is written, thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve."

Allow me to suggest, in conclusion, that as Christ was our example, "tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin," it may not be wrong for us, as Christian patriots, when tempted by the devil of politics, or any other devil, to sell our principles, or leave the path of righteousness, in order to escape the consequences to which they expose us, to say with the Master, "Get thee hence, Satan."

Better to "resist unto blood, in striving against sin," than to become a servant of the devil, on any terms that he is able to offer.

NOTE TO THE READER.—The foregoing Address, delivered in substance, with illustrative facts and remarks interspersed, in several places in Vermont, just before the Chicago nominations, was brought out in consequence of the following incident:—Soon after my return to my native State of New Hampshire, being on a visit to friends in Haverhill, I was saluted upon the street by a venerable "Peace Democrat," who, after learning that I was a returned volunteer, and getting my response to his query as to "what I thought of the war," very patronizingly volunteered his opinion concerning myself, all other volunteers, and all who staid at home but upheld and justified the war, the great mass of ministers and church members included—which opinion, he very frankly stated, was, that we were each and all of us "no better than murderers." He admitted, however, that our Revolutionary fathers were justified in their struggle for independence: but contended there was a radical difference between that and the present. I, however, "couldn't see it." Within an hour from that time a young seion of the Peace Democracy, also knowing that I was a returned volunteer, publicly stated in the post office that "he hoped to God the people of the South would be strong enough to drive our folks all home, where they belonged, and where they might learn to mind their own business." Can the reader wonder, that, being the only (and yet unmarried and childless) child of a widowed, aged and infirm mother, who had early enlisted to put down an unholy rebellion against the liberties of the nation—the rights which Copperheads have hitherto enjoyed included—I should think this rather a *droll reception*, or that I should conclude that if these men were fair samples of the mental or moral enlightenment of any considerable number of the people in that section, that there was a call for missionary labor there, and that even a *private soldier* might tell them some things at least profitable for them to believe? So the Address was written, delivered, is now printed, and offered for sale.

Or can the reader feel at all uncertain, with the above declarations of "Democrats" for a commentary, what is the *precise value* I ought to set upon the proffered "*sympathy*" and "*protection*" of the Chicago Convention?

The writer is now out of health and out of employment, with a mother to support, and he deems it needless to say anything further to the friends of the soldier and of the administration, than that copies of this Address can be had in quantities, at the rate of two dollars and fifty cents per hundred. Address, (with cash enclosed,)

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